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MAYNOOTH:

ITS

HISTORY, TEACHING, & RESULTS.

A LECTURE,

DELIVERED AT RICHMOND, MAY [illegible]

BY THE

REV. EDWARD TOTTENHAM, B.D.,

PREBENDARY OF WELLS, AND MINISTER OF LAURA CHAPEL, BATH.

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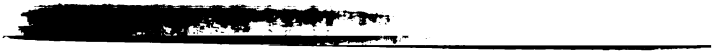

LECTURE.

I HAVE no time, Mr. Chairman, for preliminary observations. I feel that I shall best consult the convenience of the Meeting by coming at once to the subject. There is only one remark of an introductory nature which I am anxious to make, and in doing so, I am but echoing the sentiments to which you yourself have just given utterance. Though I may have some strong things to say this evening respecting Romanism and the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland, yet this does not arise from any ill-will or want of affection towards Roman Catholics themselves, but is rather dictated by a sense of duty and by a conviction of the paramount importance of truth. Nothing, I am sure, is gained in such a cause as this by bitterness or vituperation; "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;" and therefore, whilst I shall honestly give expression to my own sentiments, I hope I may be enabled to do so in a spirit of christian charity. Instead of being actuated by any unkind or unchristian feeling toward my Roman Catholic fellow countrymen, I trust I may say in the language of the apostle, that "my heart's desire and prayer to God" for them is, that they "may be saved."

In addressing myself to the subject which demands our attention this evening, it will be my business to present the Meeting with a plain unvarnished statement of facts and evidences. This may perhaps be wearisome to some, in consequence of the variety of documents to which I shall have occasion to refer; but such a course of pro-

ceeding on my part is absolutely necessary to a complete elucidation of the subject. The great point is to communicate information; and I am not without hope that if you give me your patient attention, the impression upon your consciences and your judgments may be in the end, by the blessing of God, satisfactory.

The subject, then, upon which I have to speak, divides itself, according to the announcement which has been given, into three parts:—the History, the Teaching, and the Results of the College of Maynooth in Ireland. By its history I mean, not the details of its every day proceedings, but rather the history of the grant, the chronological series of facts connected with its establishment and support. And it is the more important to enter into this part of the subject, because there is an idea in many minds that we are pledged in some way by the past circumstances of the case to continue the national support of this College; that there is, in point of fact, some species of compact, and therefore that it would be a most reprehensible breach of faith were we to withdraw the grant. I believe that this is a perfect delusion. I have never met with anything which, upon any reasonable construction, would warrant such an idea. On the contrary, the whole circumstances of the case, as I shall endeavour to show, lead to a totally opposite conclusion.

I. Let us, then, take a brief review of the History of this College. It was founded in the year 1795. Previous to that time, it was unlawful to erect or endow any seminary for exclusively Roman Catholic education; and, therefore, those who were intended for the Romish priesthood in Ireland, were obliged to go abroad, in order to be educated, to Universities in France, or Spain, or Italy, or Belgium. Foundations were established for their support in different colleges on the Continent, partly by private munificence, and partly by the liberality of the respective governments. The French Revolution, however, broke out with all its de-

structive tendencies, and completely altered this state of things. In the convulsions attendant upon that event, the property belonging to many of these colleges was destroyed or alienated, while the subsequent wars rendered the Continent difficult of access to the Irish students. Besides, in consequence of the state of Europe at the time, it was a matter of anxiety to the British government that the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland should be withdrawn from connections that were dangerous to the state; and the Roman Catholic aristocracy, as well as the prelates of that church, dreaded, in the continuance of a foreign education, the introduction of those principles which had already overthrown religion and order and property in France. Now it was under these circumstances that the College of Maynooth arose: and the first thing in order of time to which I have to call your attention is the memorial that was presented by the Roman Catholic prelates, in the year 1794, to Lord Westmoreland, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. You will observe what it was that was expected and desired. In this memorial, after describing their condition and the change of circumstances in regard to education, they say:—

"From these considerations, and conceiving that piety, learning, and subordination, would be thereby essentially promoted, your Excellency's *memorialists are induced to undertake the establishment* of proper places for the education of the clerical youth of their communion. Being advised by counsel that his Majesty's royal license is necessary, in order legally to secure the funds *which they may appropriate for that purpose*, they humbly beg leave to solicit your Excellency's recommendation to our most gracious Sovereign, that he will be pleased to grant *his royal license for the endowment* of academies or seminaries, for educating and preparing young persons to discharge the duties of Roman Catholic clergymen in this kingdom, under ecclesiastical superiors of their own communion." Signed, "John Thomas Troy, R. C. Archbishop of Dublin, for myself, and on behalf of the Prelates of the R. C. communion in Ireland."

You perceive from this, that the object they had in view was by no means to obtain a national endowment, but simply and solely that the legal restrictions might be removed which stood in the way of their erecting and endowing a college for themselves.

We next come to the Acts of the Irish Parliament, in relation to this subject. There were two Acts passed—the first in the year 1795, and the second in the year 1800. This latter Act relates entirely to the government of the college, and contains nothing that bears upon the present question that we are considering,—namely, whether there was any compact or not for its national support. But let me call your attention to the first of these Acts. In the preamble, after referring to the fact that it had not been lawful to erect or endow any school for the education of Romish priests, and after giving a list of persons to be appointed trustees, it says that these persons—

—"shall be Trustees for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining one academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and that the said Trustees shall have full power and authority *to receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow* an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion."

The tenth section says:—

"Whereas, by an Act of Parliament, intituled, &c., a sum not exceeding £2,449,600 16s. 9½d., is granted for the service of the present year, be it enacted that any sum or sums of money, not exceeding £8000, part of the said sum mentioned, shall and may be issued and paid *towards establishing* the said academy.

You see, then, that these Trustees were appointed with authority to receive subscriptions in order that they themselves might erect and endow this College, which, previous to this time, it was not lawful for them to do; and that the grant of the Irish legislature was simply a grant, as we often say, to set the thing a-going, but not at all intended to convey the idea that there was to be a continued national endowment.

Considerable stress, however, has been laid, in reference to the other side of the question, on certain speeches that were delivered when this original Act of 1795 was passed. For instance, Lord Fitzwilliam, who had succeeded to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, in opening the session of 1795 spoke as follows:—

"Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning, and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration the state of

education in this kingdom, which, in some parts, will admit of improvement, in others, may require some new arrangements. Considerable advantages have been already derived under the wise regulations of Parliament from the Protestant Charter Schools, *and these will as usual claim your attention ;* but, as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made *other* considerations connected with this important subject highly necessary, it is hoped that your wisdom will order everything relating to it in the manner most beneficial and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men which compose his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland."

It has been alleged that this statement intimates something like a pledge or compact for the support of the College that was to be established. But what is there in that speech that really conveys such an idea? If it was the design of the Lord Lieutenant simply to relax the laws which previously had prohibited the erection of such a college, without giving one single penny out of the public treasury, he could hardly have said less. You must view this language also in connection with the memorial of the Roman Catholic prelates, to which it was a response; and I have shewn you that there is nothing in that which countenances the idea of the national support of the College. Besides, in this speech, the Protestant Charter Schools are positively introduced by name, and yet no compact has been observed with regard to them. I argue, then, that if there was no compact supposed to exist with regard to the Protestant Charter Schools, which are expressly mentioned (and all support has long since been withheld from them), *a fortiori*, there could be no compact supposed to exist with reference to the Roman Catholic College, which is only vaguely hinted at and not mentioned at all.

It appears, however, that Mr. Grattan, in moving the address upon that occasion, entered more fully into the subject. He says:—

"A report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Institutions for public education, was laid before Government in 1790; it will be submitted to this House now. The extract I have seen, and from that extract I collect that the fund is above £40,000 per annum—of which £18,000 *is for Protestant Charter Schools.* On this subject *it is intended that a plan should be submitted* for colleges for the education of the Catholic clergy, who are now excluded from the Continent—and *also two or more colleges, where the children of the Protestant clergy* shall be in a great proportion on the foundation, and where the patronage of the minister will be less considered than that of the University."

He does not tell us what the features of that plan were. He does not enter on the question whether the proposed College was to be permanently supported by the state or not. We must therefore view this statement, like the preceding one, in connection with the memorial of the prelates, and with the Act of Parliament that was enacted; and interpreting the speech of the right honourable gentleman in connection with these two documents, we arrive at the very same conclusion as before, that the speech cannot be regarded as implying any positive compact upon the subject. Besides, if this speech conveys the idea of a compact with regard to Maynooth, it equally conveys the idea of a compact with regard to the other institutions referred to. I ask, then, not only what has become of the Protestant charter schools, which are here distinctly mentioned, but also, where are the two or three colleges for Protestant youth here spoken of? They have never been called into existence at all. So far as Mr. Grattan's speech is concerned, they stood upon the same footing as the Roman Catholic Colleges; and yet Parliament could not have supposed that the words of that speech implied the existence of a compact with respect to them, for they originated nothing on the subject. Why, then, should the idea of a compact with respect to the Roman Catholic College be argued from that speech?

Lord Fitzwilliam's administration lasted but a very short time. Lord Camden succeeded, and in a speech closing the session, he referred to the subject in these words:—

"A wise foundation has been laid for educating at home the Roman Catholic clergy."

This is the sentence upon which the advocates of the compact rest. But when we consider that the memorial of the Roman Catholic prelates was simply an expression of their desire to be allowed to establish a college for themselves, surely the passing of an Act in which their petition was granted, the giving a Parliamentary sanction to the establishment of such an institution, and

the voting a certain sum of money *towards* carrying their design into effect, affords a sufficient and satisfactory explanation of what Lord Camden said, without the necessity of having recourse to the notion of a compact binding for ever. Besides, it is quite clear that the obligation on the legislature can only arise from the act of the legislature itself, and that I have shown you does not warrant the idea.

The next thing that comes in order is the history of the grant from that period to the time of the Union in 1800. In 1796 there was a grant of £7,000 to enable them to forward their design; in 1797, of £8,000; in 1798, of £10,000. These were in each year merely *donations* in aid of the object, which were subject to the vote of Parliament. Then the building was completed, and in the year 1799, the trustees came again before Parliament with a petition, in which, after alluding to the completion of the building, and expressing their conviction of the advantages to be derived from the Institution, they gave an estimate of the expenses of maintaining the College for the first year, and they prayed a grant of £8,000 for that purpose. Now the question is—and it is a very essential one in the consideration of the subject—what did the Irish Parliament do upon that occasion? The House of Commons passed a bill for that object; but the House of Lords rejected the bill by a majority of 25 to 1. So that, you see, although they were willing to remove the legal hindrances in the way of the establishment of such an Institution, and although they were willing to give sundry successive grants towards its erection, yet in the year 1799 they deliberately refused a proposition for its maintenance and support; and, in point of fact, there was no grant of money at all to the College in that year. This historically shows that they felt themselves at liberty to deal with the question as they thought best.

We now come to the period of the union between England and Ireland, in the year 1800. Whatever were

the stipulations at that time, they were made between two independent Parliaments, and are fundamental laws of the empire, which the Parliament of the United Kingdom has not the moral right to repeal. There ought to be a repeal of the union first. If, therefore, in the articles of union between England and Ireland, there be found anything that guarantees the perpetual maintenance of this college, then, however we may lament the circumstance, it must be admitted that the obligation for its support is binding on the Parliament of the United Kingdom. But let us turn to the articles. Now it is a remarkable fact, that there is not in all the articles of union a single reference to the College of Maynooth by name. The only one in which it is generally, and I believe truly, supposed that it is referred to is the seventh article, which is to the following effect:

"That a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceding the 1st January, 1800, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture and manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied *for the period of twenty years after the Union*, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct."

But I say, if this article, including Maynooth under the "institutions for pious and charitable purposes" herein-mentioned, contains a pledge for its support, it is a pledge only for a specified period—"for a period of twenty years." During that time, the legislature was bound to continue the grant; but, after that period, the obligation ceased. The national faith was not at all involved in its further continuance. And this appears still more evident from the way in which Parliament acted with regard to the *other* institutions alluded to here. For instance, in the year 1802, the financial accounts show, amongst others, the following grants:—"Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools, £19,562 : 16*s.* : 7*d.*; Roman Catholic Seminary, £8000; Society for Discountenancing Vice, £675." Now let us take another year—after the specified period of twenty years had expired—1839, for

example. In that year we find that certain institutions mentioned before are totally omitted. For instance: the Protestant Charter Schools are omitted; and the Society for Discountenancing Vice, which was a Protestant institution, is also omitted. I argue, then, that, if this seventh article of the Union involved any pledge whatever beyond the year 1821, it was as much a pledge to the Protestant Charter Schools, and to the Society for Discountenancing Vice, as to the College of Maynooth. But Parliament did not act upon the conviction that there was any perpetual pledge with regard to those other institutions, for they withdrew the grants from them. Of course, then, the same course is open with regard to Maynooth, without any violation of the national faith. And I may add, that this view of the subject is strikingly corroborated by the terms in which the fifth article is drawn up, which has reference to the perpetual maintenance of the Protestant Established Church in Ireland. It is as follows:—

"That it be the fifth Article of Union that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called 'the United Church of England and Ireland;' and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church, shall be and shall remain, in full force *for ever*, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church, as 'the Established Church of England and Ireland,' shall be deemed and taken to *be an essential and fundamental part of the Union.*"

Observe the difference between the wording of this article and the wording of that to which I have already referred. You see in what careful and explicit terms it is drawn up. There is no room for doubt here. It is expressly declared that the Protestant Episcopal Church should be maintained "for ever," and that its maintenance should be taken to be "an essential and fundamental part of the union." Now if it really was intended that Maynooth be perpetually maintained, may I not fairly ask, why was not the article regarding it drawn up with the same distinct intimation to that effect as the article regarding the Established Church? And does

not the absence of such an intimation, under such circumstances, show plainly that we are perfectly free in this matter?

After this period, we must turn to the proceedings of the imperial legislature. There was an Act passed in the year 1808, one of the objects of which was, to enable the trustees of the College to purchase lands to a greater extent than they could do before. There is nothing in it bearing immediately upon the subject under discussion except the reference to the original Act of 1795 —

"Whereas, by an Act, passed in the Parliament of Ireland, intituled 'An Act for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion,' it is, amongst other things, enacted, that the several persons named as trustees in the said Act, and the persons to be hereafter elected, as by the said Act is directed, shall be trustees for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining one academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and that the said trustees shall have full power and authority *to receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow* an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion," &c.

This is conclusive as to the view we take of the matter. This act of the imperial legislature does not by any means intimate that the object of the Irish Parliament was that this College should be supported by the State, but that it was to be rendered lawful (which was not the case previously) for the Roman Catholics to endow a college for themselves. And this is corroborated by speeches delivered in Parliament during the session of 1808. In a debate of the 29th April, the present Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, said,—

"The fact was, that when the Maynooth institution was first established, it *was not intended that it should be maintained by the public purse.* The memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment prayed for a charter, in order that their funds might be better secured."

And, in a subsequent debate, on the 5th of May, in the same year, he expressed himself in a similar manner,—

"When he had asserted, in a former debate, that the Catholics had *originally proposed to support this institution*, he had done so on the authority of their original memorial to Government, a copy of which had been furnished him by Dr. Troy. This memorial was dated 14th January, 1794, and showed that *the object in the contemplation of the Catholics at that time was to be permitted to establish the institution with their own funds.*"

Moreover, the Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked, in the same debate,—

"The Memorial of the Catholics, which led to the establishment of Maynooth, claimed no pecuniary aid. The Catholics promised to defray the whole expense themselves: and, though the Government and Parliament gave them £8000 in aid of the object, that was no reason that the country should be subject to constantly increasing demands for a purpose of which there was no precedent in any age or country, that of educating at the public expense, the priesthood of a religion differing widely from the established one."

From 1808 to 1845, there was a grant of £8000 or £9000 a year, made annually, by vote of the House of Commons. In 1845, however, a remarkable change took place. The late Sir R. Peel then introduced a Bill into Parliament for the purpose of withdrawing this grant from among the annual votes of the House, and placing it as a charge upon the consolidated fund, increasing it at the same time to £27000 a year. This Bill, as doubtless you remember, was passed under very extraordinary circumstances. It was not demanded by the Roman Catholics themselves, and therefore it was a most gratuitous patronage of that which we believe to be an unscriptural system. Moreover, it was against the sense and strongly expressed feelings of the people of England. You will recollect how vehement were the remonstrances on that occasion, how numerous were the public meetings all through the kingdom, and how many thousands of petitions were addressed to the Legislature, which I am sorry to say were totally disregarded. But it does not follow that because the late Sir Robert Peel carried through Parliament a measure for altering the mode of supporting this College, that support must of necessity be perpetual on the part of this nation. Assuredly, Parliament has the right, as well as the power, to change any enactment which it may have made, if it considers that there are sufficient reasons for the change. It is only, I conceive, where the enactment is the result of some special agreement or pledge, that Parliament would not have the moral right so to do. Now, I have already shewn you that, previous to 1845, there was no pledge or compact whatso-

ever; nor was there any at the time when the Act of 1845 was passed. There was nothing conceded upon the part of the college; there was nothing required on the part of the Legislature; there was nothing that bore the remotest semblance of a bargain; it was altogether and exclusively an act of conciliation in the hope —vain and futile as the hope has proved to be—that it would have had a salutary effect upon the priesthood and people of Ireland. It stands, then, in the same position as any act of general policy: it is, moreover, connected with the taxation of the country: and Parliament, therefore, is at full liberty to deal with it as it deems fit.

So far for the first division of the subject—The History of the establishment and support of this College. The object at which I have aimed is to show you that there is nothing that conveys the idea that we are nationally bound to its perpetual maintenance.

II. I now come, Sir, to the second part of the subject —The TEACHING of Maynooth.

Now, of course, in supporting Maynooth as a Roman Catholic College, we must naturally expect that the distinctive doctrines of Romanism should be taught there. Into a consideration of these it is impossible for me to enter on the present occasion, for the field is altogether too extensive. They are comprehended in what is called the creed of Pope Pius IV., a creed that never saw the light till the year 1564. It is a remarkable fact that when the Council of Trent met, eighteen years before that period, one of the first things they did (in the third Session) was to recite, and insert in the acts of the Council, the Nicene Creed, which we use in the communion service of the Church of England; and they spoke of that creed as the "symbol of the faith," the "foundation against which the gates of hell should never prevail," "the rule in which all who profess the faith of Christ necessarily agree." And yet, what was done in the year 1564? There were added twelve new Articles: not

explanations or developments of those in the Nicene creed, but totally distinct and separate articles, comprising the peculiar and distinctive tenets of the Church of Rome. So that here, as a matter of historical fact, the peculiar creed of the Church of Rome is a novel creed, not having come into existence before the year 1564. But this I touch upon only incidentally. They speak of antiquity: but *we* profess the ancient creeds—it is the Church of Rome that enforces a modern creed. Now you support Maynooth, in order that the doctrines of this creed should be taught, for they are inseparable from a Roman Catholic institution. You maintain that College, for example, in order that it may be inculcated there, that the written Word of God is insufficient as a rule of faith, and that what is called tradition must be added to make it perfect; that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper are changed into the body and blood and soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, and are, therefore, to be worshipped with *latria*, that is, the worship due to the true God; that the consecrated elements of bread and wine, thus transubstantiated, are offered to God daily by the priests as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; that there is a purgatory after death in which we may expiate by personal sufferings what remains of our sins; that the Pope of Rome is a prince and a potentate by divine right over the whole Christian Church; that we may have images and pictures in religious worship, and that we may kiss them, and burn candles before them, and go down upon our knees before them; that the Virgin Mary and the saints may be lawfully invoked and prayed to;—I say, in supporting that College, you must entirely understand that you do so with the full expectation and knowledge that doctrines such as these (and I have mentioned only some of them) are to be inculcated: that is, doctrines which we believe in our consciences to be contrary to the Word of God, derogatory to the glory of the Saviour, and inimical to the sinner's happiness and peace and salvation—doctrines,

against which our forefathers of the blessed Reformation protested even unto death. Now the fact that such doctrines are taught is in itself a sufficient reason for not endowing Romanism. It is emphatically *the* reason. All others are secondary, though not unimportant. We hold it to be a sin against God to train persons to teach a religion in antagonism to that which he has commanded to be taught. We hold it to be a fundamental error to propagate falsehood by the treasury. We hold it to be a grievous inconsistency to believe, and even to swear, that a religion is "superstitious and idolatrous," and yet to give it every countenance and support. We would not interfere with its exercise, but we need not give it positive encouragement. We may allow the amplest toleration and liberty, and yet not bestow upon it public patronage. It is easy to say, "How is the State to judge in the matter?" But the State is composed of individuals; and each individual is bound to ascertain for himself what is truth and what is error, and then to act accordingly.

But, in speaking of the teaching of Maynooth, it is not so much with the system of Romanism generally that I wish to deal at present, as with the particular class books and other books which are the medium of instruction, and which are either obligatory upon the students, or recommended to them. This is another view of the subject, but most important in its place. In the year 1827 there was a report published by the Commissioners of Education, and in the Appendix to that Report there is a copy of a paper sent in by the professors of the College, giving a full list of the books that are obligatory or recommended. Under the head of divinity, we find Dr. Delahogue's Dogmatic Theology, in five volumes, and Bailly's Moral Theology, in five volumes. I will also add, as I shall have to refer to his works presently, that among the books "recommended" are those of the distinguished Cardinal Bellarmine.* Dr. Delahogue was a

* Appendix to 8th Report on Education in Ireland, pp. 449-51.

native of France, and for many years professor of theology in Paris, and afterwards at Maynooth from 1798 to 1820. Bailly also was a French ecclesiastic, and professor of theology at Dijon; and it is a remarkable fact, that an edition of his works, published in Paris, became the subject of a prosecution, which ended in their being prohibited in the seminaries during the reign of Napoleon, as being tinctured with the principles of the Jesuits. Whether the edition in use at Maynooth corresponds exactly with that I cannot say; but it is worth observing that Dr. Anglade, Professor of Moral Theology in the College, being questioned before the Education Commissioners in 1826, as to whether there were any lax principles of morality inculcated by the Jesuits, or by Bailly, replied to this effect:—"If there is anything which is called lax principles of morality, *I am sure Bailly is free from them.*"* I shall show you presently by the citation of some passages from Bailly, whether that is a correct representation or not. The Professor, I think, must have had a strange notion as to what might be lax principles of morality. But, before I give those quotations, it is necessary to remind you, that the Church of Rome makes a distinction in regard to sins, calling some sins venial, and some mortal. The following questions and answers I take from the "Abridgment of Christian Doctrine," by H. T., of the English College at Douay, and revised by the late Dr. Doyle:—

"*Q.* By what kind of sins are the Commandments broken?
"*A.* By mortal sins only; for venial sins are not, strictly speaking, contrary to the end of the Commandments, which is charity.†
"*Q.* What is venial sin?
"*A.* A small and very pardonable offence against God or our neighbour."‡

A venial sin, then, is not a sin that *may* be pardoned, for every sin may be pardoned through the blood of Christ when men repent and believe, but it is a sin which, as it were, has a kind of claim for pardon. The Council

* Appendix, p. 177. † C. 8. ‡ C 17.

of Trent also gives this instruction upon the subject:—

"Venial sins, which do not separate us from the grace of God, and into which we very often fall, although they may, with propriety and advantage, and without any presumption, be declared in confession, as appears from the practice of men of piety, *yet they may be concealed without incurring blame, and may be expiated in many other ways.*"*

Let me now quote from Bailly. I direct your attention, in the first place, to what he says regarding a matter that is very important in social life, namely, the Eighth Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." We find these questions and answers:—

"*Q.* How great must be *the quantity* of the thing stolen in order to constitute the theft a *mortal* sin?—*A.* This quantity cannot easily be determined, since nothing has been decided on the point, either in natural, divine, or human law. Some are of opinion that the quantity necessary for the maintenance of an individual *for one day*, in the manner suitable to his station in the world, is sufficient to make the theft a mortal sin. Others think that it requires a quantity which, every thing considered, inflicts a *grievous* injury on our neighbour, and deprives him of something *particularly* useful. A loss, however, which in respect of one—a rich man for instance—is slight, in respect of a poor man may be considered heavy. The same quantity in all thefts cannot, therefore, be assigned as constituting the subject matter of a mortal sin..... *Q.* Does a person sin mortally who steals trifling sums from one or from several persons, which, when put together, make up a considerable sum?"†

The answer is given in the affirmative, with certain explanations, among which is the following:—

"That, according to many divines, a *somewhat greater* quantity is required to be stolen in order to constitute a mortal sin, when the small thefts which make it up have been committed at different times, and on many individuals, than if they were all committed at the same time, and on the same person. The reason is, because the loss having been inflicted in different portions, the injury, according to the common sense of mankind, is less, and is not taken so ill."‡

I take another extract, in which the case of servants is considered: a matter that affects us all more or less:

"What is to be thought of servants who pilfer anything from their masters?—A. They sin *mortally* if they pilfer a *considerable* quantity; *venially*, if a *small* quantity. But if they steal money, furniture, or such things, the same quantity is required to constitute a mortal sin, as if they were strangers; nay, rather their crime is more detestable, as well because they violate the trust reposed in them by their masters, as because their masters are often more displeased than if a stranger stole from them. * * * But if servants should plunder

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 14, cap. 5, de Confes.

† Bail. Theol. Mor., tom. 2, p. 232. ‡ Ibid. p. 235.

anything to eat, they do not always sin, that is to say, if it be some food which their masters would readily permit them to use if leave were asked from them. Or at least, they sin more venially, and a greater quantity is required to make a mortal sin than with respect to strangers, because it would be generally less contrary to the wishes of a master. They sin mortally, however, if they plunder for the purpose of carousing, or in order to sell or give away to others, or if they should make use of dainties and choice wines, which the master wishes to reserve for himself, and which are not usually allowed to servants."*

Such is the morality of Maynooth, with regard to the eighth Commandment. Though, in a certain aspect of the case, it is somewhat amusing, and I do not wonder, therefore, that you smile at it, yet, after all, it is a most serious subject. How is the criminality of sin decided? Is it on the consideration that it derives its enormity from the fact that it is an offence against God? No; but it is settled by questions as to what is the quantity or the nature of the thing that is stolen. I do not deny that many circumstances aggravate the guilt of sin: but I do say, that, when what are called venial sins are described as so very excusable—when they are declared not to be a breach of the Commandments—when it is taught that they may be concealed without incurring blame—and when there is so much doubt and uncertainty as to the quantity of the thing taken, which is necessary in order to constitute the theft a mortal rather than a venial sin,—it is scarcely possible to conceive but that such teaching should be likely to lead to laxity upon the subject, especially when we consider the proneness of man to self-deception when his temporal interests are concerned.

I now come to another point, one of great consequence to us as individuals, and important also to the interests of kingdoms: I mean the subject of oaths. "An oath for confirmation," says St. Paul, "is an end of all strife." But Roman Catholic divines have introduced so many nice distinctions, have woven such a web of sophistry, while, at the same time, they have made such broad and unequivocal assertions, that I cannot but think the door has been opened by them to the most

* Ibid. pp. 239, 40.

disastrous consequences. I call your attention here again to Bailly. I pass by many things that might be quoted. I will not enter upon the consideration of the different causes which he specifies (seven in number) as hindering the obligation of an oath, or of the causes (five in number) which remove the obligation of that oath. Some of these, such as the impossibility of accomplishing what is promised, or the unlawfulness of the thing promised, are fair enough. But the part we are chiefly concerned with is that which speaks of the power of the Church in this matter. Now this proposition is broadly laid down—

"There exists in the Church a power of dispensing in vows and oaths."*

He then tells us who have authority to dispense; for instance, the Pope, Bishops, or those delegated by them, if it is expressed in their letters of license; and, afterwards, comes this question—

"Whether, to the validity of a dispensation in the case of a vow or oath, a legitimate cause is required?—*A.* Yes; for the ecclesiastical superiors are not lords of God's laws, but only his ministers and interpreters; nor is power given to them for destruction, but for edification."†

Next follows the question—

"What are the just causes of dispensing from vows?—*A.* The following are considered such; namely, the honour of God, *the advantage of the Church*, and the common good of the State or of society," &c.†

It is here laid down distinctly that there is in the Church a power of dispensation in the case of vows and oaths: and it is laid down also that "the advantage of the Church" is a sufficient reason for granting such dispensation. This was a subject of enquiry before the Education Commissioners; and Dr. Anglade, whom I have mentioned before, was examined as follows:—

"Are the Commissioners to understand the proposition about which you are now examined as meaning simply this—that, if a person implicitly bound to obey another, takes an oath which that other prohibits him from fulfilling, this discharges him from the obligation of the oath, although the person prohibiting him may commit a sin in so prohibiting him?—*A.* I think so."‡

* Ibid. p. 140. † Ibid. p. 145. ‡ Append. p. 165.

Now let us suppose a case suggested by this question and answer. A Roman Catholic takes an oath of allegiance to a temporal sovereign. As a Roman Catholic he is bound to obey his superior. The Pope, as his superior, may under certain circumstances prohibit him from fulfilling his oath to his temporal sovereign. Remember that this is not an imaginary case; it has often happened, even in the history of our own country. If, then, the Pope prohibits him from the fulfilment of his oath, even though he were wrong in doing so, he is bound to obey the Pope as his ecclesiastical superior. I think that is the fair inference to be drawn from this examination. But, lest there should be any mistake with regard to it, let us proceed with the examination, and see if this view of the case is not borne out:—

"Has it ever occurred to you to observe whether the expression that the Commissioners are now about to read to you is contained in more than one of the bulls of the Popes, bearing directly upon the principle now under consideration—'In every oath we ought always to understand that the right of the superior is to be excepted'?—*A.* I think the meaning of that comes exactly to the same doctrine as I have set forth—that in an oath no person can bind himself to do anything which will in any way go against the right of his superior, and, therefore, if any person were to swear absolutely that he would do such a thing, knowing, however, that what he swore could be excepted to by the superior, or was against the right of the superior, that man will commit a perjury, because he cannot bind himself to do in an absolute manner what does not depend entirely for the execution on his own will, but depends on the consent of another."

"*Q.* When any person properly subjected to the Pope takes an oath which the Pope himself may consider as contrary to his own rights, *who is to be judge* of whether that oath is to bind his subject or not?—*A.* I think that a Catholic cannot take any other judgment *but that of the Pope* in the ordinary course of things, because there is no lawful authority visible but that of the Pope in that case. I think he could not be bound by that oath, because the oath always includes '*Salvo jure superioris.*' *If the superior thinks, therefore, that his right is infringed upon by the oath, in that case it is evident that the obligation of the oath cannot be binding.*"*

You see how that opens a door at once to all the claims of the Papacy. If the Pope considers that any oath which is taken is at variance with his own rights, it is laid down that by virtue of his authority he can absolve from the obligation of that oath.

* Append. p. 166.

I find in a subsequent page the examination of another individual notorious at the present day, who was once a professor in the same college. I mean Dr. M'Hale, who calls himself Archbishop of Tuam. His attention is directed to the proposition I have mentioned, namely, that there exists in the Church a power of dispensing in vows and oaths:—

"You observe, that it is there laid down, in the broadest and most unqualified manner, that there is in the Church a power of loosing not merely from the bonds of sins, but also from the bonds of oaths, and it is there asserted that that can be proved from the 18th chapter of St. Matthew, in which it is stated, 'Whatsoever things ye shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in Heaven;' do you attach that meaning to the word 'solveritis' ('loose') that is attributed to it in this passage? *A.* Yes, I think that it may be susceptible of the meaning of dispensing from oaths.—*Q.* Is that the meaning you attribute to the word 'solveritis'?—*A.* There may be a primary and a secondary meaning. The primary meaning of it is to release from sins; and, by way of inference or deduction, the other construction is put upon it.—*Q.* The question is, whether you draw that inference or deduction from it?—*A.* I think it may be susceptible of it."*

You see his difficulty. Dr. M'Hale wishes to keep right with his own Church, and yet put the best face he can upon the matter before the Commissioners. He goes on to say—

"I do not know whether I would say that I do draw that inference, but I think the text is not forced beyond its natural meaning by drawing such an inference from it.—*Q.* The question is, whether you have come to the conclusion that that inference is fairly deducible from the text?—*A.* I have come to no conclusion myself upon the passage; *I believe the conclusion in the text book.* The Commissioners will be pleased to remark that if I believe a doctrine, and I find that even a general council, which defines it, brings a text to prove that doctrine, though I may be bound to acquiesce in the conclusion, I am not at all bound to believe that it is inferable from that text, so that I am not bound to infer with any author that such an inference is deducible from a text. If the doctrine is defined I believe it, though I may think some of the proofs that are brought forward in support of it not to be very conclusive."*

The Commissioners proceed:—

"Without further investigating whether the doctrine is to be deduced from that particular text, we beg to know whether you believe the *doctrine*, that is, whether you believe, as is there laid down, that there is in the Church a power of dispensing from oaths?—*A.* Surely, in the sense the proposition is laid down, and explained by the author."*

* Appendix p. 283.

Once more, let me quote Dr. M'Hale.

"Q. We find it laid down in page 145 of that class book, that the following are just causes of dispensation in those cases; namely, first, the honour of God; secondly, the utility of the Church; thirdly, the common good of the republic; and fourthly, the common good of society: who is to be the judge of what the utility of the Church may require?—*A.* The superiors of the Church.—*Q.* Does it not appear there to be laid down *as a universal proposition, and without any qualification*, that the utility of the Church is a just cause for dispensing from oaths?—*A.* It is laid down as a proposition that *the utility of the Church is a just cause.*"*

I think nothing can be more plain, unequivocal, and conclusive than this, as illustrative of the teaching of the Maynooth class books. It is not my object to go into matters of history connected with the Church of Rome, else I might easily show you how the principle of these class books was most banefully carried out, when popes, in the plenitude of their power, absolved the subjects of monarchs from their oaths of allegiance, and declared those monarchs excommunicated. You know that this was done by Pope Pius V., in reference to our own queen Elizabeth. And let me say, the principle still lives; it is still laid down and inculcated in the text books of the College of Maynooth; and sure I am, that if the state of things were different, and if Rome had now the power and the opportunity she once had, this principle would be carried out as heretofore into vigorous operation.

I pass now to another subject—that of persecution; and I approach it with great unwillingness, because I am convinced that many unsuspecting Roman Catholics, in the simplicity of their hearts, and untutored in the dogmas of their Church, think that this involves an unjust charge, and therefore are oftentimes proportionably —and naturally I would say—very indignant. If I were to affirm of any Roman Catholic who might happen to be present, that he was one who advocated persecution, or if I brought a sweeping charge against the whole Roman Catholic body, that they were all persecutors in heart, then there would be a just ground of

* Appendix, pp. 283, 284.

complaint. But I do not say this. I am satisfied that there are multitudes in the Church of Rome—I would fain hope the majority, more especially in our own country—who would shrink with abhorrence from such doctrines as I am about to submit to you. But it is not with the feelings or the convictions of individuals that I am dealing at this moment, but with the books in use at Maynooth College, that are either obligatory upon the students or recommended to them. *I* do not speak of the persecution of the Church of Rome; *I* do not bring any charge against her at present; but I let her own writers speak for themselves. If anybody here is inclined to controvert the statements, let them remember that their dispute is not with me, but with Delahogue, and Bailly, and Bellarmine, and others, to whom I may have occasion to refer.

The first particular in connection with this subject, which it is important to notice, is this: that baptism, even though it be administered by heretics, is held to be valid baptism. The Council of Trent, for instance, declares—

"If any shall say that baptism which is *conferred even by heretics*, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, with the intention of doing what the Church does, is not true baptism, let him be anathema."*

Nothing can be plainer than this statement; and, in accordance with it, we read in Bailly:—

"Concerning heretics, nothing now remains to be said, because, in the tract upon the sacraments in general, we have proved by many arguments that the sacrament of baptism is validly administered by them."†

Furthermore, Dr. Slevin, who was prefect of the College of Maynooth, was thus examined by the Commissioners on the same subject:—

"*Q.* You were understood to state that a person baptized, though by a Protestant, would become a subject of the Church of Rome; would not this be the case where the individual is baptized in infancy?—*A.* Yes; we consider that the baptized infant becomes a member of the Church; and is subject to her laws when he reaches the age of reason.—*Q.* Do you mean that every person who is properly baptized is, by the act of baptism, admitted a member of the Catholic Church?—*A.* We hold that baptism is the gate of the true Church of Christ;

* Concil. Trid. sess. 7, can. 4, de Bap. † B. tom. 5, p. 53.

and, considering the Roman Catholic Church to be that Church, *we consider all baptized persons to become members of the Roman Catholic Church.*—Q. By whomsoever they may be baptized?—*A.* By whomsoever they may be baptized, using the proper matter and form.—Q. Do you conceive that a Protestant clergyman can use the proper matter and form?—*A. Most assuredly.*"*

You observe what is stated here. It is laid down that baptism by heretics is valid; therefore, according to their view, baptism in the Church of England is valid, and baptism as administered by dissenting communities (at least, with the proper matter and form) is valid; so that the result of all is, that, by virtue of our baptism, we have all become members of the Roman Catholic Church! Such is what *they say*, at all events. And you may remember that this same doctrine was, last year, reiterated in the strongest manner in the *Tablet*, the *Catholic Vindicator*, and other public Journals in England and Ireland, as well as on the Continent of Europe.

I will give you one or two more extracts to shew that, if by baptism we are members of the Church of Rome, we are also liable to the censures and punishments of that Church: I quote again from Bailly:—

"Heretics are bound by the ecclesiastical laws, because by baptism they are made the subjects of the Church; nor are they more exempt from her laws than are those subjects who rebel against their prince."†

And Delahogue says:—

"The Church retains her jurisdiction over all apostates, heretics, and schismatics, although they no longer appertain to her body; just as a military officer has a right of decreeing severer punishments against a soldier who deserts, even though his name may have been erased from the military roll."‡

This agrees exactly with the teaching of the Catechism of the Council of Trent.§ But let me turn again to the Report of the Commissioners. Dr. Slevin was examined with regard to a certain bull of one of the Popes, which was published on the subject of a marriage between a Jew and a Protestant; and, in the course of that examination, he speaks thus:—

"The Pope claims authority over Protestants on the ground that,

* Appendix p. 219. † Tom. 1, p. 179. ‡ Tract. de Eccl. p. 404.
§ Cat. Con. Trid. par. 1, art. 9, sec. 12.

though Protestants have separated from the Roman Catholic Church, and declared themselves independent of her, yet, having been baptized, they are subject to her laws; he compares them to rebels under a civil government. * * * * Hence, infers the Pope, those who separate from the Roman Catholic Church, and declare themselves independent of her laws, are disobedient members, and, as such, subject to punishments she inflicts."—

Mark what Dr. Slevin adds:—

"Not of a temporal nature (the Church having no power to inflict temporal punishments), but to censures."*

I turn, however, to another passage, and I find this:—

"Pray explain in what practical sense the Protestant female is said to be subject to the Roman Catholic Church, as stated in your first answer?—*A.* The laws of the Church affect all its members, and are considered to extend also to Protestants, who by baptism become members of the Church of Christ. But this subjection is of a purely spiritual nature. They sin when they are guilty of wilful violations of the laws.—Q. The question is, what practical consequences you consider to attach to that subjection?—*A.* No practical consequence of a temporal nature can ensue from it; *at least in countries that are not Catholic, and where the ecclesiastical laws are not supported by the arm of civil authority.*"†

You see how he evaded the point as long as he could. He said distinctly, the Church had no power to inflict temporal punishment. We know that. But the Church has sanctioned the principle, and, with all the weight of its spiritual authority, inculcated it on the civil power.‡ And the practice has been, when the Church convicted of heresy, to hand over incorrigible heretics to the civil power, which inflicted the punishment, whether it were confiscation, imprisonment, or death.

Let me give you some further illustrations on this subject from the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine. He was one of the most distinguished men that the Church of Rome ever produced. Dr. Wiseman speaks of his controversies as "magnificent controversies;" and, certainly, I believe they are the storehouse from which most Roman Catholic controversialists derive their weapons. I have told you already that the works of Cardinal Bellarmine are amongst those that are recom-

* Appen. p. 217. † Ibid. p. 219.

‡ See 3rd Can. 4th Coun. Lateran. Labbœus and Cossart. t. 11, p. 143

mended to the students at Maynooth. But, in order to settle this point still further, I will read the following note, written in 1835 to a clergyman in Dublin, by the Rev. Mr. Montague, then Principal at Maynooth:—

"Rev. Sir,—Dr. Delahogue's Tracts, and five of Bailly's, printed for this house, and sold by R. Coyne, 4, Capel Street, form the ordinary course of the speculative and moral theology now taught in this College. As the library is open four hours each day, *few students confine their preparation* for class to the above tracts. Many read the works referred to, as Tournelly, Bossuet, *Bellarmine*, &c."

The passages I am going to give you are not (nor were any I have already given,) taken second-hand. I possess the works of Bellarmine, and I have extracted all these passages myself. The heading of one of his chapters contains this proposition;—

"That heretics condemned by the Church may be punished with temporal punishments, and even with death."*

And then he says—

"John Huss asserted that it was not lawful to deliver an incorrigible heretic to the secular power, and permit him to be burned. Luther does the same: *nor is this a new error.*"*

The opening of the second paragraph is:—

"*All Catholics teach the contrary.*"*

Now if any of us were to venture to say that all Roman Catholics taught the contrary, that is, that they affirmed it to be lawful to deliver over the incorrigible heretic to the civil power to be put to death, when should we hear the end of our misrepresentation, our bigotry, and our want of charity? And indeed, I think a charge might fairly be brought against us if we laid down such a universal proposition. But Cardinal Bellarmine does not hesitate upon the point; he says in the most unrestricted manner, "All Catholics teach the contrary," laying it down as a Catholic doctrine that the putting of heretics to death is right, and just, and lawful. He adds:—

"We, therefore, shall briefly show that incorrigible heretics, and particularly those who have relapsed, can, and ought to, be rejected by the

* Bell. de Laicis. lib. 3. c. 21.

Church, and punished by the secular power with temporal punishment, and even with death itself."*

In order to prove his point, he refers to some passages of the Mosaic law, and then he comes to the New Testament. Observe one or two of his Scriptural proofs. I do not adduce them for the purpose of canvassing the correctness of his application of those passages, but simply to show how he states the case. He says:—

"Christ and his apostles compared heretics to those things which, without controversy, are driven away with sword and fire. For instance:—'Beware of false prophets,' says our Lord, 'who come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.' By the name of 'wolves,' it is certain that heretics ought to be understood: but rapacious wolves, if they cannot otherwise be driven away *are destroyed.*"†

And then, with regard to another passage, he adds:

"He who enters not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. Where, by the name of 'thief and robber,' are to be understood heretics, &c.: but thieves and robbers, *it is well known how they are punished.*"‡

He comes at last, after these references to scripture and other authorities, to prove his proposition from natural reason:—

"In the first place, heretics may justly be excommunicated, as all confess: *therefore they may be killed.*"§

I should like to know if you could discover the force of that consequence. All heretics may be excommunicated; therefore they may be killed. I think it would puzzle a good many to find out how that follows. The consequence is proved in this way:—Excommunication is a greater punishment than temporal death; and therefore, as they may be excommunicated, surely they may be put to death, which is the inferior punishment: that is the argument.

"Secondly," he says, "experience teaches that there is no other remedy; for the Church advanced by degrees, and all remedies were tried. First, she only excommunicated; then she added pecuniary fines; then exile; at last she was compelled to have recourse to death. For the heretics despise excommunication, and speak of it as a *brutum fulmen.* If you threaten pecuniary fines, they do not fear God or man; * * * if you shut them up in prison, or send them into exile, they

* Ibid. † Ibid, sec. 6. ‡ Ibid, sec. 6. § Ibid, sec. 17.

corrupt those near them by their conversation, and those afar off by their books. Therefore *the only remedy is to send them quickly to their own place.*"*

However, let us be just to the Cardinal. Notwithstanding the severity of his doctrine, he is very compassionate to the poor heretics, for his last argument derived from natural reason is this:—

"Finally, it is a kindness to obstinate heretics that they be taken out of this life, for the longer they live the more errors they invent, the more persons they pervert, and the greater the condemnation they bring upon themselves."†

The next chapter is occupied with the consideration of the objections of the poor heretics against their being put to death; and there are no less than eighteen arguments, every one of which he undertakes to dispose of. I will give you one example before I dismiss the subject. He is answering the argument derived from the words of our Lord, in the parable of the tares and the wheat, that they were to be let grow together till the harvest. After a general notice of that passage, he adds,—

"But when the question is in particular, either about heretics, or thieves, or other wicked persons, whether they are to be extirpated, it must always be considered, according to the meaning of our Lord, whether that can be done without the injury of the good; and *if it can be done, no doubt they are to be extirpated.* If they cannot, either because they are not sufficiently known, and there is danger lest the innocent be punished for the guilty, *or they are stronger than we,* and the danger is lest, if we attack them in war, more of us fall than of them, *then we must be quiet.*"‡

This is really the explanation of the whole policy of the Church of Rome in this matter. It is well for us seriously to ponder it. Remember, it is not the lecturer who is saying these things. It is Cardinal Bellarmine, the great champion of the Church of Rome. I have restricted my quotations on this subject to Bailly, Delahogue, and Bellarmine; yet this very same doctrine is taught in other books in use, and which are recommended, in the College of Maynooth. In fact, in the great writers of the Church of Rome, this subject is

* Ibid, sec. 18. † Sec. 25. ‡ C. 26, sec. 19.

treated as a branch of theological science, just like Transubstantiation, or Purgatory, or any other such point. It may be expedient at times to keep it in reserve; nevertheless, such is the fact. I have seen passages, perhaps stronger than any I have quoted, from Devoti, Cabassutius, and Reiffensteuil, and from the Commentaries of Maldonatus and Cornelius à Lapide. But I do not produce them because I have not seen the original books, and I am very loth to quote passages without authenticating them; I am obliged, therefore, to keep back what would, I am sure, materially strengthen my case.

But there is another subject connected with the class books, at which I feel it necessary to glance. It is a very difficult and delicate one, and it would be impossible to enter into it in a mixed assembly. I allude to those portions of the class books that contain questions on the seventh commandment, or that are connected with the training of priests for the duties of the Confessional.* I have no hesitation in saying, that language would fail to convey anything like an adequate idea of the abominations contained in those portions. The very enormity of the case necessitates the apparent weakness of our evidence respecting it; for we could not approach it, much less enter into it. It is not merely the denunciation of certain sins by name, as must of necessity be found in all laws whether human or divine; it is not merely the record of sins, which we may find in all history and in the history of the Bible, either to shew the impartiality of the historian, or to warn persons against the commission of those sins by connecting them with their disastrous consequences; it is not merely a sort of unrefined mode of expression, more suited to other times and countries, and which may be found in older ecclesiastical writings; but it is the minute description of sins, and of every imaginable, and, I had almost thought, inconceivable mode of committing them. I do not say these books inculcate immorality in respect of these

* Ball. tom. 2, p. 204—230; tom. 4, p. 480, &c.

matters; their professed object is the very reverse. Nor can I say how far this system of questioning is actually carried out in practice, although it does so happen that I have myself known instances of defenceless womanhood being subjected to the prying and polluting questions here suggested. Moreover, I am bound, in candour, to state, that the priest is cautioned in these books against contaminating his own mind, though I think this is very absurd when they accustom his mind to such revolting ideas. You would not expect me to go more into detail here: but this much I do unhesitatingly say —and anybody that consults the books themselves will know that I do not speak too strongly—that the instruction given to the candidates for the priesthood on these subjects, and the training of them for the confessional, as found in these class books, is beyond what you could by possibility conceive, and deserves the reprobation of every honest, every virtuous, every christian mind.

The facts I have thus brought forward will give you some idea of the teaching of Maynooth. Of course, I am obliged to limit my evidence to a few examples. But even these will serve to shew the character of the system of instruction which the nation patronizes and supports, and may suggest the inquiry, Is it worthy of the nation's favour?

III. Let us now proceed to the third part of the subject—namely, the RESULTS of Maynooth. What I mean is, that the object for which the College was originally founded has not been realized. The object was, independently of the religious view of the question, that there should be raised up a body of men, whose influence upon the people of Ireland, in a social point of view, might be highly beneficial. The Parliament sanctioned its establishment, as we have already seen, mainly for the purpose of withdrawing students for the Roman Catholic priesthood from the taint of the revolutionary principles of the Continent; and, in the petition which the trustees presented to the Irish Legislature,

in the year 1799, they made the following statement, as to the fruits they anticipated:—

"*A more faithful attachment to government, and a more dutiful submission to the laws,* must be naturally looked for from the zealous exertions of instructors, who, in the inculcation of those important duties, must feel themselves *urged by a strong impulse of gratitude, to enforce and illustrate* the general principles on which those duties are founded."

Now, I believe, it has been, very generally admitted, that the College has not been very successful in this respect. The anticipations that were entertained have certainly been most grievously disappointed. It was only two or three weeks ago, that the Prime Minister of England, in his place in Parliament, made the following observations in reply to a question put to him by Lord Albemarle:—

"The noble earl must allow me to add—and I do it with great regret—that the highly objectionable course which has been pursued by a large body of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, and the aggressive attitude which they of late years have taken, *have added materially to the difficulty of defending an endowment* which was intended for the purpose of maintaining peace and goodwill; for the purpose of binding the Clergy of the Church of Rome to the State, by ties of gratitude for material assistance afforded them—gratitude for the goodwill shown towards them; in short, for the purpose of binding them by the ties of loyalty, contentment, and peacefulness."

Such is the language of Lord Derby. Mr. Wyse, a Roman Catholic, in his "Historical Sketch of the late Catholic Association of Ireland," sufficiently informs us of the change in the political conduct of the Roman Catholic priests. Instead of enforcing and illustrating those duties referred to in the petition of the trustees, instead of appearing as peaceable ministers of religion, they gradually became violent agitators and politicians.

"The Clergy, too (he says), sent in from time to time their adhesion (that is, to the Catholic association): *Maynooth began to be felt:* Irishmen who had never left Ireland were the priests whom it sent forth; and though in some instances *the proprieties and decencies of their ecclesiastical station considerably lost,* the country gained on the whole by the infusion of a more popular spirit amongst the body."*

Again, in 1828, when the late Mr. Sheil recommended simultaneous meetings to adopt petitions to Parliament—

"On the same day and at the same hour (says Mr. Wyse), meetings were held *in upwards of fifteen hundred Roman Catholic churches.*"†

* Vol. 1, p. 208. † P. 381.

These things have not been at all uncommon. I do not mean to say that Clergymen cease to be citizens, or that there is not even for them a legitimate part in politics. But this is quite different from enrolling themselves by hundreds in political associations, and holding political assemblies in the house of God, and delivering violent inflammatory political harangues, not only in public meetings, but even from the altar.

The testimony of Mr. Inglis is very striking, and he is generally considered a liberal and impartial writer:—

"I entertain no doubt (he says) that the disorders which originate in hatred of Protestantism *have been increased by the Maynooth education of the Catholic priesthood. It is the Maynooth priest who is the agitating priest;* and, if the foreign educated parish priest chance to be a more liberal-minded man, less a zealot, and less a hater of Protestantism, than is consistent with the present spirit of Catholicism in Ireland,—straightway an assistant, *red-hot from Maynooth*, is appointed to the parish; and, in fact, the old priest is virtually displaced. In no country in Europe—no, not even in Spain—is the spirit of popery so intensely anti-Protestant as it is in Ireland. In no country is there more bigotry and superstition among the lower orders, or more blind obedience to the priesthood; in no country is there so much zeal and *intolerance* among the ministers of religion. I do believe that, at this moment, Catholic Ireland is *more ripe for the re-establishment of the Inquisition*, than any other country in Europe."*

This is what we have gained in this matter. These are the beneficial advantages that have resulted. But now let me give you a few specimens of the language of Roman Catholic priests, in order that you may see by their own showing that Maynooth has not had the effect of making them more gentle, courteous, polite, or refined than they were before. The first specimen shall be from Dr. Mc.Hale, who calls himself Archbishop of Tuam. Some time since, he went down to a part of Ireland, where there is a great work of reformation going on among the Roman Catholics, and preached a "sermon" in the chapel of Cong. The sermon was taken down by a Protestant and by a Roman Catholic reporter; and the following is an extract from the report of the latter:—

"Mass being over, the Archbishop ascended the altar, and addressed the congregation in Irish, saying, 'He, as their bishop, felt it his duty

* Tour in Ireland, in 1834, c. 32, p. 392-3.

to warn them against the wily and crafty assaults of a base and corrupted Church—a Church filled with such filthy and foul abominations that he would blush to mention—a Church begotten and founded by Luther and Calvin—a Church cherished and nursed by brutal force and the lustful desires of Harry the Eighth and Elizabeth—a wicked Church—a cursed Church, established upon the spoil of the old Catholic Church of God—a Church that would rob the poor of Ireland of the last legacy left them by their forefathers..... They will give you schools for your children, damnable schools, and then seduce you into their churches..... They should hold no intercourse with them; they should not speak to them; they should not listen to them; they should not salute them for the future on the highway; their very breath was poison. Now let us pray the Holy Ghost may come down upon us,'" &c.*

There is a specimen from a Roman Catholic Archbishop. And it is but a portion of what I might read. It is not that I find fault with Dr. McHale for warning his flock against what he deems heresy, or for attacking the Church of England—that is all fair play if he does it rightly. Nor do I quarrel with him for stating what is not a fact, though in this address he states many things that are not facts. I merely present this to show you the character, the temper, and the disposition of the individual; and Dr. McHale was once even a Professor at Maynooth.

I now give you an archidiaconal specimen. A priest, named Archdeacon Laffan, is a great politician. He came forward on the hustings in 1847 in Tipperary. I really hesitate in reading some of the passages contained in his speech on that occasion: but it is important that you should see the kind of men we speak of. There was an English gentleman, of the name of Collett, who was a candidate for the county, to whom the Archdeacon was very much opposed. Here are some extracts:—

"These English fellows have not one drop of the milk of human kindness in their bosom. Did that ill-looking fellow (pointing to Mr. Collett), and he is a very ill-looking fellow—(Here Mr. Collett commenced writing in his tablet)—Put that down in your tablet; carry that in your snuff-box, as we say in Tipperary..... I could not support Lord J. Russell, and I will tell you why: because he starved two millions of my fellow-countrymen. A scoundrel who refused to send two vessels of war to bring food to the starving people..... the pigmy Premier of England, the rotten Russell..... You

* Sent in a Letter to the *Dublin Evening Mail*, August 25, 1849. Signed, E. L. Moore, Rector of Cong.

stood for Lincoln, Mr. Collett. I am sorry they did not send us a handsomer specimen of the cast-off clothes than you, any way..... Col. Sibthorpe opposed you—he headed the poll. Surely, they must have the mischief's opinion of you, when they elected Sibthorpe in preference to you..... Go home, and tell them we are Irish, the descendants of the old Spaniards. You are not a Spaniard,—you are more like a Creole. Tell them we are not to be trampled on—that we repudiate both Whigs and Tories; and if Old Nick had both of them, Old Ireland would be much better off."*

There is a good deal of humour about the man, certainly; and the *tendency* of his address is not so bad as what I shall afterwards produce. But one can scarcely fancy such an oration from a minister of religion. How the people would stare if they heard such an one in this country from a Clergyman. I may add to these oral addresses some specimens of elegant letter writing. A Mr. Ryan, R.C.C., referring to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the effect he expected it would have in making people think and reflect, says:—

"Such thinking and rational persons will find, on one side, the English Government and the miserable, puny, politically-foresworn and apostate wretch, John Russell, and on the other, God Almighty. This abandoned miscreant, John Russell," &c., &c.†

The following is addressed to the *Mayo Constitution*—

"Sir,—This day I got the *Constitution* Newspaper, in which I see a letter signed 'H. Townsend,' bellowing all the venom of a poisoned and bigotted heart against me for soliciting relief for my distressed, impoverished, and persecuted flock. As I intend next week to chastise the bloody, bigotted, and lying parson, I only say, that all ought to be on their guard against him. He is a stult, a fit companion only for the common blackguards of the streets, &c.—Yours, PETER WARD, P.P."‡

I think I may say that Maynooth has not humanized these men. It has not made them more courteous or refined. But all this is trifling compared with what is yet to follow. The language that is frequently employed is not only of the coarsest character, but also calculated to inflame and instigate to violence, and even in some instances to resistance against the laws and government of the country. In order to save your time, I shall select only a few examples, though I am really quite en-

* Copied from the *Tipperary Vindicator* in the *Cork Constitution* of August 19, 1847.

† Quoted in the *Dublin Church Sentinel*, October, 1, 1851. ‡ Quoted in Ditto.

cumbered by the amount of evidence I have upon the subject. The following is from an address, delivered on Sunday, June 14, 1832, in the Roman Catholic chapel of Leighlin-bridge, in the county of Carlow, by a priest named Kehoe:—

"Is there any one here who will barter his soul for his landlord? There is one wretch that has done so. Do you know who I mean? I mean Pat Neil, the hypocritical, proselytizing, apostate, lick-spittle, Pat Neil, and his brother. ..... I say, Pat Neil, *you are a detestable, hypocritical, apostate, lick-spittle, a ruffian and a miscreant, to be held up by the finger to scorn, and detestation, and contempt.*..... I'm told policemen come here: look out for them, and if you see any policemen here who are not Catholics, their only object must be to create a disturbance; therefore, *mark down their names, and I'll soon take care that they shall not long have occasion to wear their green coats and black belts* ..... Who are *these bloody landlords*, these *tyrannical despots?* Why, *they are fellows whose names were not known when your ancestors possessed the land they now possess; but a time will soon come that will oblige them to prove what right and title they have to their possession*..... ..... Boys! Vigors and Raphael intend to address you after mass; and I desire that you'll not leave the chapel yard till you have heard them. These orange Conservatives are very confident, like the devil when he tempted our Saviour in the wilderness; but we'll strike fear and terror into their hearts on Tuesday. *I hope it will not be necessary for us to draw the sword*, for I hope the very sight of the scabbard will be enough to frighten them. But I tell you, boys, if the Conservatives gain this election—they can't gain it—but if, by perjury, threats, and violence, they do gain it—if they do trick us out of our representatives on this, as they did at the last election, *more blood will flow than there is water in the river Barrow.*" *

What an address for the house of God, and to be uttered by a minister of religion! What words can adequately characterize it? It is not merely that it is of the coarsest and most vulgar description; but it is a direct and unmistakeable incentive to violence against landlords, policemen, and all electors who would not vote as this priest desired. What wonder that we hear of bloodshed, and assassination, and other dark deeds, that are a disgrace to our common humanity, when such addresses as these are delivered, under the sanction of religion, to an excitable people? A friend of my own, who is now a clergyman, was present when this address was spoken. He was at that time studying for the bar, and, having been accustomed to parliamentary report-

* Evidence before Select Committee of House of Commons, 1835.

ing, he took down the address in these very words, and was afterwards examined before a parliamentary committee in reference to this case. He gave in this report of what was said, in the way of evidence, to the committee, and testified to its accuracy. And he told me himself, as one proof of the effect of such harangues, that the next day a number of Roman Catholics, under great excitement, attacked some Protestant electors, the result of which was, that about twenty persons were actually killed.

Having referred to the Parliamentary Committee on bribery and intimidation at elections, I would add a few more extracts from the evidence given in 1835 before that Committee, as contained in its report. This will throw further light on the sayings and doings of the Romish priests in Ireland. In the course of the examination of Mr. John M'Cartie, relative to the election for the county of Kerry in 1835, he was asked:—

"Are you a Protestant or a Roman Catholic? *I am a Roman Catholic.* ..... You were understood to state that the power of the priests was exercised to influence the electors on this occasion? It was, *from the altar*, at the usual part of divine service; it was so on the occasion in which *I myself was present.* ..... You have stated that from other Roman Catholic gentlemen you have heard that the same exhortations took place in other chapels in the county, and you believe the practice to have been *general* previous to the last election? *I have heard that from respectable gentlemen.* ..... Was there any active intimidation practised against persons in trade, such as threatening exclusive dealing with them if they did not vote for the popular candidates? On the occasion I allude to, the *clergyman spoke of exclusive dealing.*" *

From the examination of Mr. Charles O'Connor, I take the following:—

"Did you witness any threats or violent language used by the priests in their chapels that influenced the voters at the late election? *I did* previous to the election. What was the nature of the language used? Father John O'Sullivan said *at the altar*, before the election, that any person that would vote for that renegade the Knight of Kerry, *he would not prepare him for death, but he would let him die like a beast; neither would he baptize his children*, and that they *deserved to be pelted* as they went along, any person that voted for the Knight of Kerry. In what chapel did this take place? In Dingle chapel. *Did you hear it? I did.* Are you a Roman Catholic yourself? *I am.* ... .. Did he also threaten that no man should deal with them? He did: he said *that they should*

* Ibid.

neither buy from them nor sell to them, any person that would vote for the Knight of Kerry. Do you know instances of priests interfering with voters for the Knight of Kerry going to the poll? I do; I saw a freeholder in Tralee during the election who got himself qualified in the Knight of Kerry's committee room, *and intended going to vote for the Knight of Kerry;* I saw *the priest take him by the collar*, and put him into the court-house; that was Father Thomas O'Sullivan, and he put him on the table *in spite of him*. What was the name of the voter? Millingar. ..... How did he ultimately vote? He voted for Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Mullins. ..... Did you ever hear that this priest also denounced the Knight of Kerry? Yes, he did; I was in the chapel. What did he say? He told the persons not to vote for him, that they would be *under moral excommunication* if they voted for the Knight of Kerry—that renegade, the Knight of Kerry: he said, he vowed to Heaven he would look upon that person who would become an apostate to his religion and turn his back upon it, in a milder light than he would on that traitor who would vote for the Knight of Kerry. *You heard this? Yes.*" *

Mr. T. H. Carroll, the editor of the *Carlow Sentinel*, was also examined. He stated that he attended the chapel of Borris on the Sunday previous to the Carlow election of 1832, as reporter. Being asked to give an account of what took place, he said:—

" After some preliminary observations from the old priest, Mr. Walsh, and after a long speech, in which he attacked some of the freeholders, he said, 'That any person who signified his intention of voting for Mr. Kavanagh, had ceased to be a member of his church, of the Roman Catholic church, and *was delivered over to Satan;* and such as were present he called on them to quit the chapel *for fear of polluting the people*, who *should not eat, drink, or sleep* with them; *even their wives should abandon* the apostates who would, in the face of their God, vote for Mr. Kavanagh, and Bruen, who was an Orangeman: *the curse of the Almighty would fall on them* in this world, while, *with the mark of Cain* on their foreheads, they would go down to the grave for betraying their religion and their country; any man who voted for Kavanagh and Bruen *would be refused all religious rites*, and would run the risk of everlasting punishment.'.....The Rev. John Walsh, jun., said, 'No man can be a Catholic who would do so (*i.e.* vote) in opposition to the wishes of their clergy; my good people, *mark the recreants, and take care how you deal with them.* They are blind apostates who will do so, and *I hope the people will know how to treat them.* Their votes belong to their country; let them mark the consequence who dare betray it; *I will not be answerable for their safety.*'" *

In another part of his examination, he mentions the fact of a priest, named Maher, going round from house to house to canvass, accompanied by a multitude of people; and that when he came to the dwelling of a man of the name of Butler, a Roman Catholic, who re-

* Ibid.

fused to vote as the priest wished, he turned round to the people, and said,—

"*Mark this house; the grass will grow at his doors;* he says he will vote against his country."*

This report is full of similar evidence. What a state of things is this! Where is the freedom of election under such a system? Can anything be more awful than this prostitution of their office on the part of the priests? Is it not a direct instigation, not only to lesser species of violence, but even to assassination itself? And, remember, much of this evidence is from Roman Catholics themselves.

I hold in my hand a letter from a Presbyterian minister named Armstrong, addressed February 19th, 1851, to the *Ballina Herald.* There is a Female Industrial School under his charge in Ballina, and it has prospered exceedingly, and been attended by many Roman Catholic children. This naturally excited the displeasure of the priest, the Rev. Patrick Malone, and Mr. Armstrong describes in this letter the way in which he came with a great horsewhip to punish the poor defenceless children, and drive them away from the scriptural school. I have also an account of a trial that took place July 16, 1850, at the Kerry Assizes, in reference to some circumstances connected with the Colony of Dingle, in the county of Kerry. There have been about twelve hundred converts from Romanism in that single district. I have myself witnessed insult and opposition of the most discreditable character practised there by those who are opposed to the work. This was carried to such an extent that Mr. Lewis, one of the clergymen, was advised by his friends to bring an action against certain parties, in order to check the violence and the persecution to which they were exposed. These persons were found guilty at the Tralee assizes, and the Lord Chief Justice, in passing sentence, said they were only the "wretched instruments," the "tools of designing men"; referring, as nobody could doubt, to the

* Ibid.

instigations of the Roman Catholic priests in that place. And it was only the other day that there was another trial at the Dingle Petty Sessions, for an assault on Mr. Lewis, a report of which I have now before me. In the course of his evidence, Mr. L. said, in open court before the magistrates and people—

"I said that I believed he (Rev. Eugene O'Sullivan) was the instigator of all the persecution I endured ..... if the people of this county were like the people in Tipperary or Leitrim, I believe his inflammatory harangues, some of which *I have myself heard*, would long since have provoked them *to murder me*. In this court he said, in the presence of three magistrates, that he would sing the murderous songs of the Dingle mob himself, and *would knock down any policeman* who dared to interrupt him. ..... I now say in his presence, and in the presence of the bench, if any of these assaults terminate fatally, there (pointing to Mr. O'S.) is *my murderer*."*

It may be said that this was the statement of a Protestant clergyman. But I can give you evidence (as I have already done) from Roman Catholics too. When they happen not to act according to the wishes of the priest, they are subjected to the same kind of intimidation. For example,—a Roman Catholic gentleman, named Keating, in a letter to the *Westmeath Independent*, complains—

"For having voted for Mr. Keogh, I have been pointed at, hooted through the public streets, *denounced by my parish priest from the altar of his chapel, and held up to the fury of an excited mob as a fit object for its violence*. On last Sunday, the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly addressed his congregation on the subject of the election, and in the most exciting language *denounced those Catholics* who voted for Mr. Keogh. As some of the Rev. gentleman's allusions were so unmistakeably pointed at me, I left the chapel; but scarcely had I reached the door *when I was surrounded, my life threatened*, so that I was obliged to take shelter in a neighbouring house until a force of policemen came to my assistance and protected me to my home, which I fortunately reached without injury." †

Again, a Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Ballinrobe Union, was last year asked for a bible by a Roman Catholic pauper, and gave one. For this he was denounced by the priest, and, upon the next occasion, when the Board of Guardians met, he addressed them in this language:—

"To demonstrate the correctness of my opinion of Mr. Hardiman (the priest), no later than last Sunday *he denounced us*, the Catholic

* Reported in *Achill Herald*, April, 1852.

† Quoted in *Cork Constitution*, August 21, 1847.

guardians; not by name, for he had the cunning not to mention names, but, by unmistakeable inuendoes, he made the most unhandsome allusions. If this goes on, gentlemen, where will it end, or how? If *denunciations and slanderous attacks*, spoken before an audience chiefly composed of ignorant peasants, fanatics, and peradventure criminals, *who have the authority of what they conceive to be the Catholic Church for the perpetration of violence, plunder, and very likely murder*, on the persons who, in the language of Mr. Hardiman, were compared to lepers, who should adjourn so many days to be cleansed in the desert, before they could be tolerated in the society of Christians, and exhorted all Christians and persons to have no communication with them, *thus exposing us to the criminal's dagger, his pistol, or his musket, if he chooses.*" *

These testimonies are very important. You see how even Roman Catholics themselves complain of this system. Is it any wonder that Ireland should be, as it were, a "field of blood," when there are such instigations as these directed to an inflammable and excitable peasantry? The Romish priests have much to answer for in this matter, for their power is immense, whether for good or for evil. What think you, for instance, of this language, which one of them, now a very notorious man, addressed to the Romanists of Birkenhead:

"Tell him (*i. e.* Lord J. Russell), in words that cannot be mistaken, that *the priests are your magistrates*, and that their words are more powerful than an armed police; proclaim by your good order that the Popish Bishops whom he attempted to disrobe, consume, annihilate, and after that to deport to the Colonies, are not dead yet, but on the contrary (as we say in Ireland), are alive and kicking; and let him know that when I choose to address you under the sanction of the Church, *I can command you to do what I please, and that you will neither walk, nor drink, nor sing, nor dance, but according to my pleasure!*" †

This is the language of Dr. Cahill. I do not dwell on the abject slavery which it imports, or on the fact that under such circumstances the elective franchise is a mockery; but I say, if this be true, what an amount of guilt and responsibility rests upon the Roman Catholic priests throughout the length and breadth of Ireland! How much evil might they have prevented if they had exercised their power aright, and how much evil have they caused by exercising it wrongly!

When the late Sir Robert Peel introduced his bill in 1845, he described it as "a message of peace" to Ireland.

* Quoted in *Dublin Church Sentinel*, October 1, 1851.

† Quoted in the *Church Sentinel*, March 1, 1852.

There was a little cloud gathering in the west over America, and he thought it therefore highly important to conciliate the Irish people, and from this measure he expected the best possible results in attaching both priests and people more thoroughly to British government and British laws. I fear that his expectations were not answered. It was not long after that period that what is called the rebellion of '48 broke out. Were the hands of the Romish priests clean in that business? I am confident that Smith O'Brien and his companions would never have engaged in that unhappy movement if they had not thought they had sufficient reasons to calculate upon the support of the priests. Indeed, if I remember rightly, they said so, and bitterly complained that the priests, after various instigations to rebellion, when they saw the movement was not likely to succeed, left them in the lurch, and thought that discretion was the better part of valour. But it is right that I should give a little evidence on this point. I quote, then, from a Roman Catholic paper, the "*Cork Examiner*":—

"Roman Catholic Clergy, Cork.—The Prosecutions. "*Mill street, March* 28, 1848.—On this day, at a meeting of the clergy of the Mill-street Deanery, held at the Presbytery, Mill-street, a very liberal subscription was entered into for the defence of Messrs. O'Brien and his co-patriots. *Not an individual clergyman present who did not pledge himself to support them by every means in his power.* It is only justice to add, that the feelings of their respective flocks are in perfect accordance with those of their priests."*

And in a Dublin paper there is a letter from a Romish priest, from which I take this extract:—

"The Irish people never abandoned their clergy in the hour of peril; they have, therefore, *a claim upon their services* when engaged in the combat for civil and religious liberty. The clergy are aware of this; and the people and their present rulers may rest assured that the priests will be ever at their posts when the lives of the people are in danger, either from famine, from pestilence, or the *sword of the tyrant.* They do not forget the glorious example of the illustrious Archbishop of Paris and his clergy, *who sanctioned the ever memorable proceedings of the people, in hurling the despot from his throne,* and establishing the inalienable right of freemen to just laws and equal privileges. The Catholic clergy of Ireland, sympathising with their countrymen, *are ready to offer the high sanction of their approval to similar glorious results.* They are, at present, convinced that the condition of the people by any change of

* Quoted in *Achill Herald*, April, 1848.

events cannot be made worse; that constant petitions to a parliament deaf to all remonstrances and entreaties are useless and absurd; that resistance to oppression is equally a *virtue* in Ireland as on the Continent; and that liberty purchased, if necessary, at the sacrifice of a few lives, is preferable to tyranny with its yearly holocausts of human victims, immolated at the altar of despotism, avarice, and ambition."*

If that be not plain-spoken rebellion, I know not what is. But I have another evidence before me of a very peculiar character. A letter appeared in the public journals sometime since, dated Dec. 2, 1850. It appeared, I believe, first in the *Tablet*, and afterwards was published in several other papers. It was alleged to have been written by Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lord Shrewsbury, who was then in Rome: and so far as I am aware, that statement has never been contradicted. Nay, further: on Tuesday evening last, in the debate in the House of Commons on this subject, the Marquis of Blandford quoted this letter as the undoubted production of Lord Clarendon. What, then, does his Lordship say in it?

"It is very true that the Pope ordered the Clergy not to meddle in politics: this he did in 1847 in the same rescript in which he condemned the Colleges. The *second* part was received with reverence *as hostile to the government*; and the first was obeyed *by the Clergy rushing headlong into the revolutionary movement of* 1848, when nothing saved them except their belief in the impartiality of the government—in which they were quite right, because, *if the legal evidence of their guilt had been as strong as its moral certainty*, several of them would have now been along with their friends in exile in Van Dieman's Land."†

Nothing can be more explicit than this testimony; and the writer had means of knowing the facts. And what have we seen since that time? While the Pope has been insolently invading the territories of Queen Victoria, and parcelling them out into pretended dioceses—while he has been setting at nought the prerogative of the Crown, the rights of the Church, and the independence of the nation—while the Synod of Thurles, convened by a foreign potentate, has been sitting in Ireland for the purpose of defeating the Queen's Government and the Parliament of the empire—all this has been received with enthusiasm, everything that could

* Quoted in ditto. † *Church and State Gazette*, May 2, 1851.

embarrass the Government is a matter of rejoicing, the strongest ultra-montane principles have been asserted, and individual priests have continued, in too many instances, to employ the most exciting, and violent, and even rebellious language. Let me now give you an extract or two from Dr. Cahill. In a letter to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, he alludes to the possibility of any of their bishops being imprisoned for assuming illegal titles. Now, if any man breaks the law, whether he be a Protestant or a Romanist, he is subject to the penalty of the law. There is nothing extraordinary in that. But Dr. Cahill thus speaks:—

"With regard to arrest and imprisonment, I say that the attempt would not only require the presence of an army, *but it might endanger the stability of the British throne.* I should like to see the Prime Minister who would dare to drag *certain Bishops whom I know* from their residence to the county prison. In the first place, every £100 so raised would cost the government £10,000; it would cost the country the loss of internal peace; and it might in the end (if often repeated) *cost the Queen her crown.* Depend upon it, that the Roman Catholic Bishops can write *ten cities* after their names if they please."

Again: alluding to England, he says:—

"Believe the fact, that at this moment she is viewed with suspicion, hatred, and revenge, by universal Europe; and if any circumstance should turn up to give her a national check, all Europe would universally celebrate the jubilee of her downfall; and would, like *vultures* above the dead tiger, clap their wings in triumph *over the dead body of this ferocious and blood-thirsty nation* [viz., England]. With enemies from without, and *enemies from within*, if we are true to our determined opposition, we shall soon compel the Russells of the senate house to seek other work than burning the Blessed Virgin and—*proh pudor!*—making laws in the face of Europe and the world, like the Russian brute, to enter the cloister of timid Nuns! But if Irishmen submit to this indignity, the iron of slavery should pierce their souls for ever—if they submit their shoulders to this ignominious yoke, and permit an *official* insult on their sisters and daughters, they deserve the death of the coward slave; and on the first time when the filthy *English official* shall execute his dirty work of visiting the rooms of our consecrated virgins, *we shall deem it a crime against God and liberty, not to rise up as one man from our valleys and our mountains, and strike our brutal enemies to the earth, or die in the honourable struggle against this infamous tyranny.*"*

It is unnecessary to comment on this. It speaks for itself. I turn to another individual, Dr. Croke, the parish priest of Charleville. He writes a letter about

* *Church Sentinel*, April 15, 1851.

the supposed invasion of England. He thinks it probable that France will invade us before long, and then he proceeds to discuss the question, how Ireland is to act in such a case. Mark, this is from one of the instructors of the people. Instead of speaking out plainly, he carries on his observations in a strain of irony. Listen to the following:—

"But, supposing now that a French army, duly equipped, and, of course, well generalled, had effected a landing in England, the vitally important question remains still to be answered—what would Ireland, under such circumstances, be called upon to do? The answer is at hand. Ireland's duty, under such circumstances, would be so patent and plain, that no sane man might either doubt or dispute it. *If there be a government* to which she owes allegiance—and several sage folk say there is—a government that cared for her in the hour of need, consoled her while sorrowing, and gave her comfort in the season of distress—a government that fed her when hungry, clothed her when naked, enlightened her when ignorant—a government that protected her commerce, fostered her religion, encouraged her agriculture, and respected her ancient fame—a government that treated her with something of a parent's fondness, that watched over her every movement with amiable solicitude, and whose chief aim has ever been to render her people happy, and even to secure their permanent prosperity—then is Ireland's duty evidently well defined; her course clear and unmistakeable. She would strengthen the hands of such a government; stand by it at every risk; and see that no stranger durst intrude upon its domain, or threaten its existence, save at the peril of his own life and the lives of his followers.

"Now, the *English* government, as may be fearlessly stated, is the *only one to which we, Irishmen, are supposed to owe allegiance.* It has *ever* treated us with kindness, with courtesy, and consideration. It found our forefathers poor, about seven centuries ago, and it enriched them; disunited, and it played the peace-maker; semi-civilized, and it reclaimed them. Had it not punished apostacy from our national creed, encouraged our Celtic literature, protected Irish property in every age, rewarded Irish patriotism, promoted Irish arts and industry? Does it not respect the titles of our ancient hierarchy, administer to the wants of our working clergy, and leave them in the free enjoyment of that inheritance that had been purchased for them by the piety of their predecessors in the faith? Does it not shelter our poor, recompense with liberality the labourer for his toil, and secure from every unjust pursuit the painstaking husbandman? Does it not repress crime, support the 'cause of law and order,' and even pay, without ostentation, a patriot press to defend it? In short, it has done for us much more than we could have expected at its hands; *and, if in the hour of its approaching need, we should forget the long catalogue of its deeds of mercy, may we be treated for evermore as we deserve,* and receive stripes instead of acquiring freedom. Be Ireland's motto, therefore—*allegiance where allegiance is due*; and it is due to the government that protects us—but to *that alone.*" *

You will perceive that he means the very reverse of

* Quoted in *Cork Constitution*, Feb. 19, 1852.]

what he states; namely, that England has always treated Ireland badly, that Ireland owes allegiance only to the government that treats her well, and therefore that, in the time of England's extremity, Ireland must not take part with her in the conflict. In short, he inculcates, under the veil of irony, the most dangerous sentiments of disloyalty: and the *Nation* newspaper, to which the letter was sent, openly avows disloyalty. I am obliged to omit many other testimonies: but before I leave this subject I should like to give you the opinion of one or two of the French journals upon these matters. The *Constitutionel*, referring to one of Dr. Cahill's letters, says—

"Assuredly, hatred never spoke in more passionate or savage language. Imagination can picture nothing more abominable than these blood-thirsty anticipations—this ferocious satisfaction at the thought of the ruin of England. There are expressed in it two things deeply revolting to the conscience—forgetfulness of all the feelings of *humanity*, and forgetfulness of *country*. Such words are detestable, and merit the deepest condemnation, especially coming as they do from the *mouth of a priest, and that priest engaged* in *the education of youth*."*

The *National* speaks thus with regard to the clergy more generally:—

"The prelates of Ireland, in defiance of the recent law, assume titles which the law forbids. This may be Roman, but is not clever, and still less innocent. But the Irish clergy, not content with having made a crusade against mixed education, seem well disposed to *sow agitation* in the country, and by *preaching revolt* to paralyse the efforts of the English Government for the reconciliation of the two races. This may be politic, but it is *not Christian*. In fine, the Irish Catholic Church seems more disposed to remain faithful to the *dominating spirit of ultramontanism* than to the counsel given by the Divine Master to His disciples, 'Render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar.' If the clergy alone were in question, we should rather rejoice at conduct which, by exceeding just rights, would lead to a salutary reaction in favour of neglected duties. Unfortunately, however, the *flocks* are behind the shepherds, and *we cannot without horror contemplate the misfortunes which the Roman Catholic priests are about to bring on Ireland as they scatter with full hands the seeds of civil discord*. Certain are we that Divine justice will cause to fall on their heads the blood which they *provoke to be shed*—the blood of those poor creatures *whose fanaticism they excite* by promises of chimerical palms of martyrdom without honour. But we know them too well to be ignorant of this—that in the interval of final retribution they will *contrive to slink away from the chastisement due to them as the promoters of rebellion*, and that they will allow the whole weight of it to fall on the heads of those poor *ignorant peasants, less guilty than themselves*, whom they can as yet turn about as they please." †

* Quoted in *Church and State Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1851. † Ibid.

These testimonies I feel to be very important. They come from those who are looking on at a distance, and watching the course of events. And they entirely confirm all that has been said.

There is another point on which I had intended to dwell, namely, the instances which have lately come to light of the burning of the word of God under the immediate eye, and by the direct authority, of some of the priests. But time will not permit me now to enter into the details. I have two instances of recent occurrence before me. One of them took place at Newmarket, in the county of Cork, in March, 1848, and in the presence of a Romish priest. First of all one Bible was consumed; but on the following day twenty-two were burned amidst the shouts and exultations of the people, who, with clubs, threw the flaming Bibles into the air.* Another occurred in the county of Mayo, and is detailed in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Mayo Constitution*, Dated Dec. 26, 1851, by the Rev. H. Townsend, who saw the thing with his own eyes. One would scarcely credit such facts as these: nevertheless, instead of any feeling of shame, or regret, or fear, they are gloried in. Let me show you an awful proof of this. The monk, who in the last instance was engaged in this work of Bible burning, was indicted for the act, in order to establish its illegality, and thus to prevent the recurrence of such wicked and disgraceful scenes. The offender was convicted; but punishment was not enforced against him. This was not the object of the prosecution, but it was simply to establish the offence. After a very suitable address, therefore, from the individual who tried the case, the offender was dismissed. But shortly after we find in the *Tablet* the following language respecting the transaction. Listen to it, and be astonished that in a Christian country any one could write in such a manner:—

"Now, we really don't want to have these questions of mutual an-

* The account is given in detail in the *Kerry Evening Post*, and inserted in the *Achill Herald* for April, 1848.

noyance discussed in the *Tablet* if the Scripture-readers would give us leave to be silent upon them; but we must say that if 'Brother John,' the defendant in that suit, was guilty of any offence, the present writer is equally an offender. *He has burned a Protestant Bible, and is prepared to burn a thousand more* if he can gratify his taste economically, and he heartily *wishes that the whole seed, breed, and generation of them was extirpated*, except, perhaps, a stray copy in a collector's library, as you sometimes find a copy of Jacob Bœhman's narrative of the spiritual illumination that fell upon him from the reflection of the sun upon a pewter plate. If an odd volume of the Protestant Bible took its place beside Jacob's aforesaid folio we would not quarrel with it; but in the present state of the book market we decidedly consider it, and are prepared to deal with it, in all proper ways, as an objectionable book. Having, as we fancy, set an example to 'Brother John' in this particular, we are quite ready to follow his example in another, and *to do what the Ballinrobe magistrates call 'profanely scoffing at the holy Scriptures.'* We beg leave perfectly to associate ourselves with 'Brother John' in this particular; *to scoff* at the book which he scoffed at and to pronounce it—what it is—not the book of God, not the holy Scriptures—*but a book put together and there circulated by some of the most active friends and servants of the Fire King*—in other words, *the book of the Devil.*"*

Now we all know that the Church of Rome has never been particularly favourable to the free circulation of the word of God. We know that in strictly Roman Catholic countries, such as Italy, Spain, and Austria, there is no general circulation of it. The restrictions may be somewhat relaxed here in England, but still the law of the church is laid down in the Rule of the Index, which forbids any person to read translations of the Scriptures without a written permission. This law is most rigidly carried out in Roman Catholic countries. But, though we are perfectly aware of this, we could scarcely expect such conduct as was exhibited upon those occasions in Ireland, and such language as is here used by one of the leading Roman Catholic newspapers, and that, I believe, a recognized organ of the priests. In the letter attributed to Lord Clarendon, before quoted, the writer says that it is known that the *Tablet* speaks with authority, and that its Editor is in constant communication with Dr. Cullen. They would say, of course, that they speak of the Protestant version of the Bible. But, although there are points of difference between the Protestant version and the Romish

* Quoted in *Church and State Gazette*, April 16, 1852.

version, yet after all it is to be remembered that substantially they are the same, and therefore that substantially both of them are the word of God. This may be seen by a comparison of them: and it will be found, moreover, that in the several editions of the Rhemish Testament, published of late years, it has approximated more and more to the Protestant version. Therefore, to glory in the act of burning the Protestant Bible, and to call it the "book of the Devil," is an instance of wickedness and blasphemy too horrid to think of.

I forbear accumulating other facts. This is a very painful and unpleasant subject, one that I would willingly have avoided. If other interests were not at stake, assuredly I should prefer throwing a veil over proceedings like these. I am not disposed to make too much of the misconduct of a few. There may be found some disreputable persons in all systems and associations. As long as human nature remains what it is this must be so; but unfortunately, in the present instance, it is not a mere occasional case of individual delinquency, but it is the record of conduct which, in a social and civil point of view, is dangerous in the extreme. Moreover, the evidence is upon too large a scale; it is too characteristic, though of course there are many honourable exceptions. We meet with it on every side. Besides, if the nation pays for the education of these priests, we have a perfect right to canvass their conduct, and see what sort of result our education of them has produced.

It has been said that the Act of 1845 has not been as yet sufficiently in operation to enable us rightly to judge of its results, and that, in point of fact, the priests to whose conduct we refer have not been those that have received education there since that period. But I cannot see what that has to do with the subject. For when Sir R. Peel introduced his measure, he expressly said that it was not his intention to interfere with the course of education at all. There is no provision in the Act for an improved education. "By improvement," said Sir Robert, "I mean improvement of means only, not

an interference with the course of education, poisoning all the good you might derive from liberality." I argue, then, that if the course of instruction now be precisely what it has been since the foundation of the College, we have no reason to expect that the results should be different; and therefore any evidence which we may produce from any period since its establishment, is applicable to the present discussion. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that the power of nominating the free students on the establishment is allotted to the Roman Catholic bishops, and that all students, whether free or not, are recommended by them: and with the present ultra-montane tendencies of most of those bishops, it is not likely that there should be an improvement in the character of the students they recommend—such an improvement as would render them more attached to British laws and institutions.

It is argued that Roman Catholics, like others, pay taxes, and that, therefore, they have a claim to this endowment. Surely, the answer to that is very ready. If contribution to the public revenue is to be made the ground why the State is to give support to particular doctrines, then every one, no matter what his religious opinions may be, must be considered as having an equal claim: and you must, if you carry out this principle, endow the Jew, though he rejects the Messiah; you must endow the Unitarian, though he denies the proper Deity of the Saviour; you must endow every form of religion at home; nay, more, you must support even the grossest idolatry of heathenism in our distant possessions. And what is this but practically to say, that there is no material difference in religious systems at all? What is it but to put pure christianity on a level with all other systems? What is it but to set at nought the authority of God, and to be guided by mere human policy?

It is said again: that we have admitted the principle in the Colonies, and that we pay Roman Catholic chaplains in the workhouses in Ireland. With regard to some Colonies, it must be borne in mind that there were special treaties at the time we got possession of them,

by which the support of the Church of Rome was guaranteed; and, therefore, we can scarcely help ourselves in this matter. But, even if we have done wrong in one way (and I speak now to those who deem the principle wrong, but who are somewhat led astray by this argument), are we to do wrong in another? And, besides, look at the consequence of such an argument fully carried out. If it is a correct ground by which to regulate our conduct, then at what point can we stop? We must be prepared to go all the lengths to which I have already adverted.

We are also told that the endowment is due to the Roman Catholics, as an act of restitution, because the property of the Roman Catholic Church was taken from it at the time of the Reformation and given to Protestants. I deny the fact. I say it was not taken from it and given to Protestants. What I say is this—that the existing Church in Ireland, as in England, reformed itself, and the endowments, as a matter of course, remained in the body thus reformed. All the Irish archbishops and bishops but two, most of the Irish clergy, and the mass of the population, adopted the reformed religion, and renounced the Pope. The Protestant Episcopal Church now existing in Ireland is the lineal descendant of the ancient church of the country; and the Roman Catholic Church is a new sect—a church that was introduced into Ireland after the time of the Reformation. I say that Primate Cullen, as he is called, and his brother prelates, are not the successors of the primitive bishops of Ireland, but the protestant bishops are their successors. I do not, therefore, admit this argument of restitution. The property is held by the same church still, only reformed. The present Roman Catholic Church never had it. And, besides, although Romish doctrines were taught in the Church of Ireland, and the authority of the Pope admitted, for some centuries prior to the Reformation, yet it may be found that the property of that church was given to it previous to its subjection to the See of Rome, in the 12th century, in the reign of Henry II.

Let it not be said that, in objecting to the grant to

Maynooth, we desire to leave them without the means of education. One speaker in the House of Commons, on last Tuesday evening, had the boldness to affirm that the object of opposing the grant was to deprive Roman Catholics of the consolations of their religion. Really, if we are to judge by the number and splendour of their churches and other buildings in many parts of Ireland, it would seem as if there was no great lack of money for such purposes. And now, rejecting the advantages offered them in the Queen's Colleges, they are establishing what they call a "Catholic University;" and I cannot at all see that, if they are in a position to do that, notwithstanding what the State has done for them, as well as for others, in the colleges, there is any very urgent necessity that we should continue to do violence to the religious feelings of so large a portion of the nation by maintaining this grant. There may be a doubt, too, whether the support we give to Maynooth is so absolutely necessary even for the wants of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland. They have endowments of their own for this purpose. They have several other colleges in Ireland. A considerable number of students are still educated in colleges on the Continent. And I am very much inclined to believe that the number of candidates for the priesthood produced yearly from all these sources considerably exceeds the number required for Ireland itself, and that it is not at all unlikely but that in point of fact we are educating priests for other parts of the world. It is, at all events, a very legitimate and important subject for enquiry.

We are, of course, prepared to hear our opposition to this grant described as the result of bigotry and intolerance and a spirit of persecution. It is very easy to say all this, and it is sometimes very convenient to do so. But it may be quite an incorrect representation after all, founded on no evidence whatsoever. We do not wish to interfere with the liberty of Roman Catholics. Let them preach what they believe to be true; let them propagate it by their ministers, by their tracts, by their missionaries, by their agents, as much as they please.

We give them the most unbounded toleration, and surely it is too hard that we should be called persecutors, if we refuse, in addition to this, actually to support them in teaching what we believe to be contrary to the word of God. Does toleration necessarily imply countenance and support? It comes with a bad grace from Roman Catholics to speak to us of a want of toleration and charity, after the evidence I have given to day, and with the plain facts, not only of past, but of every-day history before our eyes. They may build their chapels, and colleges, and convents; they may propose, without any hindrance on our part, to erect a handsome building, in the Italian style of architecture, in one of the best and most public thoroughfares of London, for foreigners and "such natives as may choose to attend" (for this was the language of the Pope himself): whereas, if we Protestants suggest the idea of building a small Church for ourselves alone in the city of Rome, immediately the proposal is designated, as it has been by the Roman Catholic *Tablet* "a piece of Protestant impertinence." They may circulate their missals, their tracts, and anything that they please, without any prevention from us; but is it necessary to ask the question,—what would become of the man who would circulate, in certain Roman Catholic countries on the Continent, bibles, prayer books, or tracts? I think the events of the last year or two (not to go further back,) in Tuscany and elsewhere, abundantly shew what would be the result of such proceedings. They may preach controversial sermons in this country, and placard the announcement of them on the walls, and invite Protestants to go and listen to them. They may freely visit among our people. They may, as they have done again and again in public journals and otherwise, say that our bishops are no bishops, and that our church is no church. But what would be thought of announcing upon the walls of Rome that such a person would preach on the supremacy of the Pope, or for the purpose of proving that Rome was the Babylon of the Revelations? The result, I apprehend, would be very different from that which attends the

preaching of the Roman Catholic doctrines in this country. The case would be very soon settled. They may make their converts here, and who attacks them? Who endeavours to blast their character? Whereas, it is well-known that when we make converts from the Church of Rome, if the individuals happen to be in the upper walks of life, there is not unfrequently some insinuation or charge against their moral character or about the weakness of their intellect; and if they be in the lower walks of life, as in Dingle and Connaught, then, as I have seen with my own eyes, and as I know upon indisputable testimony, they are subject to every species of ill-treatment, abuse, and violence. Therefore, I say that the members of the Church of Rome are not the parties to bring a charge of intolerance or persecution against us; and I am sure they have no right to complain of want of toleration.

I have now done with the subject. I have given you an account of the history of the College of Maynooth; I have shown you some specimens of its teaching; and I have illustrated its failure in producing the results that were anticipated. Can it then be right or expedient in any point of view thus to teach by public authority the doctrines of the Church of Rome generally, or the principles of the Maynooth class books in particular? In what respect can it be right or expedient? Can it be so in the sight of God? Is there, then, so little difference between the truth of God and the inventions of men? Can it be right or expedient in regard to the salvation of immortal souls? Is it a matter of no consequence whether men be taught the true way of salvation through Christ or a false way? Can it be right or expedient in regard to the practical influence of such an act as this, on the part of the British legislature, upon the minds of the Roman Catholics in Ireland? May they not say to us, "You charge us with idolatry,—who pays for the teaching of it?" May they not say, "You affirm that our priests are the ministers of a corrupt and unscriptural church. Who educates them? Who provides that they may be

instructed in the things in which they are afterwards to instruct us? You affirm that our books contain principles of an immoral and anti-social tendency. Whose money buys those books, that the students may be instructed in them?" May they not justly charge us with inconsistency? May they not say that we are indifferent about the character of religion altogether?

And now before we separate—though I feel that I have trespassed very long indeed upon your time and patience, much longer than I anticipated—I cannot dismiss you without one short word in reference to yourselves as Protestants. I have been speaking to you of much that is painful and distressing, in connection with the principles which the Church of Rome maintains and promulgates, and the conduct of many of her priests in Ireland. Happily, by God's providence, by God's grace, you are dissociated from these things: you belong to a purer church; you profess a purer faith; you have free access to the word of God; you hear the Gospel that tells you of the full and complete salvation which there is through the atonement and merits of Jesus Christ, and not by the merits or sufferings of the sinner, to every one that believeth. These are great privileges that God has given to you. Be thankful for them; and at the same time remember that they bring with them corresponding responsibilities. I tell you plainly and affectionately that if you live and die in the practical disregard of these privileges, your guilt, your condemnation must be the greater, because where much is given, there much will be required. Therefore I entreat you to remember that true Christianity does not consist merely in opposing—even intelligently and honestly opposing—the College of Maynooth, or the principles and doctrines of the Church of Rome. It is one thing to reject error; it is another thing to embrace truth. It is one thing to understand the grounds of truth by the force of evidence presented to you, and it is another thing to receive the truth in the love of it,—to have that truth really influential upon your hearts, and consciences, and lives. Examine your-

selves upon this point, and see that you are more than mere nominal Protestants, more than mere nominal christians;—that you are Protestants indeed and Christians in heart. It is only real religion, it is only spiritual christianity, it is only genuine repentance and a lively faith in Him "who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification," that will abide in the day of the Lord. May it be His good pleasure of His infinite grace to pour out his blessed Spirit upon each and all of you, that you may understand, appreciate, and receive the great truths of the everlasting gospel, that thus you may "so pass through things temporal," in faith, and hope, and love, and obedience, that "finally you lose not the things eternal."

NOTE.—Since this Lecture was delivered, my attention has been directed to the *Eclectic Review*, for May, 1852, which contains an Article on Maynooth College. The object of the writer seems to be to endeavour to show that the nation was in some measure pledged to the maintenance of the College.

He finds fault with the statement that, in 1799, the legislature refused to take upon itself the support of the establishment, because, in point of fact, he says, owing to the opposition of Lord Chancellor Clare, the Lords only *postponed from February to August* a bill sent up by the Commons. I believe this is generally considered as the rejection of a bill, though the Lord Chancellor's object appears to have been, according to a letter of Lord Castlereagh, quoted by the *Reviewer*, "to have a new bill with further provisions for the regulation of that seminary sent up from the Commons." But this much is perfectly plain that, though the Lord Chancellor favoured the idea of a "well-regulated academy for the education of Catholics," he did not feel any obligation to support Maynooth *as it was*, but on the contrary, felt it to be his duty to oppose it, stating, in a subsequent letter to the Lord Lieutenant; that "their present establishment, if it were to receive a permanent sanction, *would enable the Popish Prelates of this country to subvert the government of it in ten years*:" and in his opposition he was almost unanimously supported in the House of Lords.

The *Reviewer* takes his evidence from the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh," recently published. But I think, after a careful perusal of the letters, that nothing more can be gathered from them than this, that the government of the day were extremely anxious on the subject, from motives of state policy, believing an establishment for the education of Roman Catholics at home, a very important matter at that time. This I have admitted all through. But the anxiety of a government, or the part they may have taken, at a particular period, is no reason why future governments are to be bound in such a matter. The Bishop of Meath, from whom the *Reviewer* quotes, speaks indeed of the "faith of government and the *implied* pledge of Parliament." But still, even in his apprehension, the pledge was not so plain and self-evident; and, moreover, he says, that, conducted as Maynooth then was, it "*should not even be tolerated, much less supported at the public expense*;" and the remedy he proposed was, as the writer tells us, "that the government should insist on the Roman Catholic Church *formally and practically renouncing the exclusive and intollerant system in all its parts, and giving a pledge that no such doctrines should be taught* in their divinity schools, nor enforced by the Parochial clergy." This shows, at all events, that any pledge that existed, if it did exist, was only conditional. And it is an important question, whether such doctrines are *now* taught at Maynooth, as, according to the Bishop, would be sufficient to forbid its being tolerated, much less supported. This is the very object of the enquiry at present proposed in Parliament.

On the whole, then, I conceive that the *Reviewer's* testimonies, while they only go to show the deep interest which the government and others at that time felt in the institution, without at all presenting any positive proof of the existence of a compact, cannot be taken as out-weighing the series of facts which I have adduced, and which are connected with the more public and national history of the establishment.